

education did not go beyond the conventional six classes of the gymnasium and the curriculum of the Naval Military School. Yet the book is written in a scholarly style. Its treatment of evidence reveals a profound knowledge of the science of law. It indicates that its author possessed an extraordinary knowledge of ecclesiastical literature and had made a thorough study of Holy Writ. There were no signs of such knowledge in Maksimovitch.

Shortly after *El Israel Triumphante* was published in Argentina, a similar book, based upon the Protocols, appeared in Santiago, Chile. Such books spread from Buenos Aires to all parts of South America, catching the attention of the ruling classes. The anti-Semitism they helped provoke has led to decrees forbidding Jewish immigra-

tion in some South American countries and has in general undermined the previously tolerant attitude toward Jewish residents. In many people these books produced a state of mind which approved of both the massacre of the Jews in Europe and the Nazi perpetrators.

As for the end of Nicolai Maksimovitch, he lost his comfortable job when a new Governor was elected. First he was transferred from La Plata to San Nicolas. Two weeks later he was relieved of his duties. Then he found a position in the customs office in Buenos Aires. Unable to endure the work, he committed suicide in 1940.

I saw him a few days before his death. A miserable and tired man, he was anti-Semitic to the end. He blamed Jews for his dismissal.

*Telebe actant as R. B. Ch. 344*

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## THE GERMAN PROBLEM

By KARL BARTH

*—The relationship between the Church and the Communist Party is much better than that between the Church and the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties.*

I WAS NOT CONSIDERED a guest at the Council of Brothers of the Confessional Church but, having belonged to it since 1935, was admitted again after ten years of Babylonian estrangement just as if we had parted only yesterday. I was ordered to attend the general church conference at Treysa as one of the twelve representative members.

During my travels I had a splendid opportunity to renew connections that had been severed during the war. My conviction that the German people had never been one uniform bloc behind Hitler, became even firmer. Naturally I can

only talk about these resistance centers as far as I came in direct contact with them.

There is first of all the Church. I found courageous resistance among Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, people who did not even make outward concessions. This united front has, by the way, brought the two faiths closer together, not so much dogmatically as humanly. But since the Pope rejects such ecumenical intermingling of boundaries as illegitimate, a continuance of this beautiful brotherhood is hardly to be expected.

[The theologian, Karl Barth, spokesman of the Confessional Church in Germany, who, as a convinced anti-Nazi gave up his post at the University of Bonn and is now living at Basel, returned to Germany for the first time in August. He attended the session of the Council of Brothers of the Confessional Church at Frankfurt on the Main and also the conference of the Protestant church leaders at Treysa. Before returning to Switzerland, where, in the weekly *Weltwoche*, he published the statements printed below, he wrote the following for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*: "I do not hesitate to state that Hitler's rise to power not only was aided by the German worker's parties through their disunity, but also by the policies of the Protestant church leaders, favoring fascism by their lukewarm neutrality and finally going so far as to acknowledge and promote nationalistic sentiments and German-national (deutsch-nationale) tendencies." *Editor*]

However, the Protestants represent a much less uniform picture than the Catholics. The struggle of the churches brought about a split among Protestants and not until recently has a friendly relationship been resumed. Only in Prussia, where the "German Christians" (Nazis) were able to grab all church property, and to mobilize the police and other government agencies, did it come to an open battle. Here the Confessional Church was forced to form a counter-government and become a haven for the persecuted.

In Bavaria, Wuerttemberg and other parts of the country, the Confessional Church remained a unit of the official Church, trying her best to influence the so-called "grey sheep," the luke-warm, compromising, indifferent elements, who, in order to save the Church, thought it wisest to appease the Nazis. The exponents of these conniving Christians were mainly the bishops against whom the Confessional Church primarily directed her opposition.

These tensions lasted up to the present and were only relieved during the church conference at Treysa due to the

fact that the 78-year-old Bishop Wurm of the Landeskirche of Wuerttemberg was appointed head of the Protestant Church of Germany. During the course of the war Bishop Wurm had gradually drifted away from Nazism and barely escaped the concentration camp, having sent several courageous protests to Hitler. His right-hand man, and representative, is Niemoeller. By this the status of the Confessional Church has changed from an opposition to a recognized body. Although this proves that persistent and courageous opposition was displayed by a large number of clergymen, one must not forget that the lukewarm and the satisfied have safely survived the period of compromise: The German "Pfaffe" is still alive! The differences, very often hardly noticeable, were nevertheless decisive. Following the same orthodox sermon, one side would pray for a victorious Wehrmacht, and the Fuehrer, and the other for peace and the rescue of Niemoeller.

Niemoeller himself has never been the shining martyr foreign countries have made him appear. He was neither a philosopher nor a dogmatist, but a human

being full of contradictions and prejudices. In spite of his persistent steadfastness in the struggle for pure faith, his nationalistic sentiments were strong. However, during the session of the Council of Brothers of the Confessional Church, he spoke up against any kind of nationalism and professed the idea of democracy.

As another circle of resistance, I came in contact with the *universities*. Visiting Freiburg, Marburg and Bonn, I found in all of these institutions courageous men of all faculties—philosophers, scientists, historians, lawyers — who, while outwardly adhering to Nazi conformity (*Gleichschaltung*), nevertheless held high the spirit of humanity—trying to implant it in the hearts of their students.

Another important factor are the *workers*. I talked with two Communists in Frankfurt who all through the time of their suppression have been actively engaged in underground work. The Communist Party was the only political group able to resume public activity as a political entity immediately after the collapse of the Nazi regime. During its underground existence it had gotten itself completely organized while the Social Democrats and the Liberals are still struggling to form a strong nucleus.

One can, by the way, note quite a decisive change in the attitude of the Communists toward the Church. While clinging to their old atheistic faith a kind of tolerant understanding towards the Church on the part of the Communists was brought about through close contact with German clergymen during their mutual imprisonment in concentration camps. The relationship between the Church and the Communist Party is much better than that between the Church and the Social Democrats and the bourgeois parties.

Taking the existence of such oppositional groups into consideration it is wrong to regard all the Germans as just *one* gang of Nazis. In fact, the majority of the Germans were not Nazis. Their guilt lies in their passiveness. It is wrong, therefore, to try to cure the Germans of Nazism by way of an elaborate re-education plan; actual facts have accomplished this long ago. There is hardly one among hundreds who does not admit that Hitler combined both the clown and the devil in one person.

With the Germans, you do not get to the root of their problem while talking about Hitler. Bismarck is of much greater importance. For, once stripped of all the Nazi-masquerade, most Germans, even those formerly active in resistance, emerge with a German-nationalistic coloring. They look upon Nazism as a regrettable incident, but everything prior to it is absolutely untouchable. They fail to understand that Nazism was the inevitable outcome of Bismarck's policy of blood and iron which by brute force united Germany into one imperialistic and highly capitalistic empire which at the same time became the grave-digger of the freedom of 1848. It is necessary to make the Germans realize this inherent guilt, a guilt which made a Hitler and a Maidanek camp possible.

I am convinced that even the youth, looked upon by many as hopelessly poisoned, will sometime get rid of the Nazi ideology. That what happens to every schoolmaster will also happen to the Nazi schoolmaster: life and experience will surpass scholarly wisdom until finally there will be nothing left of the Nazi theories. It will depend mainly upon finding the right surroundings able to change the youth organically into different human beings.